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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

EAST TIMOR

Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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I. ACTION TAKEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS

1. An account of action taken at the United Nations between November 1982 and July 1985 was provided in the previous working paper on East Timor (A/AC.109/836).

2. On 8 August 1985, the Special Committee considered the situation in the Territory, in accordance with its organization of work, as a separate item. It had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/836). The Committee granted requests for hearings to Mr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, Ms. Felice Gaer of the International League for Human Rights, Mr. José Ramos Horta of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN), Ms. Margo Picken of Amnesty International, and Mr. Michel Robert of the International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples. Mr. Roger S. Clark (on behalf of Ms. Gaer), Mr. Ramos Horta, Ms. Picken and Mr. Robert spoke at the 1283rd meeting of the Special Committee, on 8 August 1985 (see A/AC.109/PV.1283). At that meeting, the representatives of Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Mozambique, Portugal and Sao Tome and Principe also made statements. The representative of Indonesia made a further statement at the 1284th meeting, on the same day (see A/AC.109/PV.1284). The Special Committee then decided, without objection, to continue consideration of the item at its next session, subject to any directives that the General Assembly might give at its fortieth session.

3. On 11 September 1985, the Secretary-General submitted a progress report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session (A/40/622) in which he outlined his continuing efforts to contribute to the improvement of the humanitarian situation and to facilitate a comprehensive settlement of the problem.

4. On 16 September 1985, the General Committee met to consider the draft agenda of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. On the proposal of the representative of Senegal, the General Committee decided to recommend that the Assembly defer consideration of the item on East Timor to the forty-first session (A/BUR/40/SR.1, para. 72; and A/40/250, para. 27). By decision 40/402 of 20 September 1985, the Assembly decided to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-first session the item entitled "Question of East Timor" (see A/40/PV.3).

5. During the general debate at the fortieth session of the General Assembly, the representatives of Angola, Belize, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, Vanuatu and Zimbabwe referred to the question of East Timor in their statements (see A/40/PV.5, 9, 24, 25, 27, 28 and 33) and the representatives of Indonesia and Vanuatu spoke in exercise of the right of reply (see A/40/PV.29 and 33). In addition, the representatives of Guinea-Bissau and Portugal referred to the question in their statements in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations (see A/40/PV.45 and 47).

6. A letter dated 23 October 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Sao Tome and Principe to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General was circulated as a document of the Security Council (S/17592). The annex to the letter included a letter addressed to the Secretary-General by Mr. Ramos Horta of FRETILIN, transmitting a statement dated 20 July 1985 by Mr. José Alexandre Gusmao, Xanana, of FRETILIN, and an appendix entitled "FRETILIN peace plan".

7. A letter dated 16 January 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General was circulated as a document of the Security Council (S/17744). The annex to the letter contained excerpts from TAPOL Bulletin No. 72 of November 1985.

8. On 27 February 1986, in connection with the consideration by the Commission on Human Rights of its agenda item 9, references were made to the situation in East Timor in the statements of the representatives of Angola, Indonesia and Portugal and the observer from Pax Romana (see E/CN.4/1986/SR.35). On 5 March, in connection with agenda item 12, the Commission heard a statement by the observer from the World Council for Indigenous Peoples in which a reference was made to East Timor (see E/CN.4/1986/SR.44), and on 12 March, in connection with agenda item 10, the observer from Pax Romana again referred to East Timor (see E/CN.4/1986/SR.54).

9. On 4 March 1986, in reply to a request for information under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations, the Government of Portugal reiterated (see A/41/190) that it had nothing to add to the information provided in its note of 6 April 1979 (A/34/311). At that time, it had stated that conditions prevailing in East Timor prevented the Portuguese Government from assuming its responsibilities for the administration of the Territory and it regretted being unable to provide the information requested.

II. MILITARY SITUATION

10. On 8 October 1985, the Australian press reported Indonesian military sources as saying that "fighting eased last year to occasional skirmishes between some 7,500 Indonesians and an estimated 500 to 700 armed FRETILIN guerrillas" and indicated that, according to senior government and church sources, "continuing FRETILIN ambushes ... left at least 80 Indonesians dead this year". 1/ Also in October, Reuters 2/ reported that Mr. José Alexandre Gusmao, Xanana, had sent a radio message to Darwin "inviting Australian Ambassador Bill Morrison to talk with FRETILIN by radio" during the latter's visit to East Timor that month. Mr. Gusmao was reported by the Australian press as also saying that Viqueque "had been strongly surrounded by the army in preparation for the visit". 1/

11. On 29 November 1985, on the tenth anniversary of the "declaration of independence" of East Timor by FRETILIN, FRETILIN claimed that it controlled "large areas" and "was active along the southern coast and in the mountainous eastern sectors", including "within 3 km of the main towns" of the Territory. It was also claimed that FRETILIN "operated in independent cells and frontier patrol". 3/

12. On 4 December 1985, The Sydney Morning Herald reported that "up to 15 Indonesian troops" had been killed in late November in East Timor in a "recent ambush" by FRETILIN in the Los Palos area, which was said to be "the fourth known clash in the former Portuguese colony in six months". An incident in Viqueque, which took place in September and in which 6 to 10 Indonesian troops were claimed to have been killed, was also reported, as was an incident in Baucau in June in which 30 to 35 Indonesians were claimed to have been killed or wounded. Indonesian military sources were reported as saying that "several" FRETILIN members had also

been killed or wounded. Circumstances regarding another incident, in which the head of the Los Palos Regional Assembly had been killed, "remain vague", according to the Sydney newspaper. One view, as reported by The Guardian in an earlier article, was that the victim, accompanied by an armed guard, had met local FRETILIN members "unofficially on his own initiative" to discuss the possibility of talks, but a "quarrel developed ... which led to a gunfight" in which he, "at least one of his men, and 8 to 10 guerrillas, were killed". 4/

13. On 12 December, the Far Eastern Economic Review reported a "well-planned ambush, either in Los Palos or Viqueque", on 20 November 1985, in which "Indonesian forces suffered 16 casualties". FRETILIN's losses were reported to be "at least as great". The Australian press reported that, according to military sources, Indonesian troops "last year lost more than 170 men". 5/ The Australian later reported that the Indonesian "military still suffers a small trickle of losses, according to reliable sources". 6/

14. Following a visit to the Territory in January 1986, Father Rudiger Seifert, a Catholic priest from the Federal Republic of Germany, reported that FRETILIN did not enjoy the sympathy of the Timorese in the Baucau area, and rather was feared because of its pattern of taking reprisals against the local population, including killing people and burning houses. 7/ Father Seifert also reported that authorities had informed him that 25 Indonesian soldiers had died as a result of FRETILIN-related activities in December 1985. 7/

15. On 14 January 1986, The Age (Melbourne) reported that "Indonesia has stepped up military activity in East Timor, according to documents and photographs smuggled out" by FRETILIN. The Age also reported that the southern coast was the "focus of recent military activity", that FRETILIN sources claimed there were 18 battalions of Indonesian troops in East Timor, and that "an extra battalion" had arrived there on 30 September 1985.

16. On 4 March 1986, the Australian press reported that there were an estimated 12 Indonesian army battalions present in East Timor, concentrated around the Los Palos area. 6/ Other sources have estimated the presence in East Timor of from 10 to 12 battalions. According to an Australian delegation, led by Chief Minister Ian Tuxworth of the Northern Territory, that visited East Timor in March, the Indonesian military presence was not obvious in Dili or Baucau, nor was there any evidence of FRETILIN's presence. 6/ The Australian reported that, while FRETILIN members were "assisted by the terrain and poor communications, they are hampered by lack of food and an apparent fall-off in support". 6/ According to the visiting delegation, "life in Dili and Baucau seems peaceful", and "life has largely returned to normal". 6/

17. On 10 April 1986, the Far Eastern Economic Review reported an announcement, made in Lisbon in late March, that "remnants of the two main nationalist movements", FRETILIN and the União Democrática Timorense (UDT), had "joined forces in their struggle against Jakarta". Although it was noted that "it is as yet unclear" what the implications of the pact were, the two groups were reported to be "engaging in joint initiatives on both the diplomatic and military fronts to further their demand for self-determination for East Timor". It was speculated

that the alliance could improve the "operational effectiveness" of resistance in the Territory, since "it is claimed that the UDT remnants operate an intelligence network in the capital, Dili, that will be put at the service of FRETILIN". However, UDT "has no combat units of its own". The Far Eastern Economic Review also reported that "family members of recent refugees from East Timor described a build-up of Indonesian forces in readiness for an anti-guerrilla offensive to be launched in May". 8/

18. On 29 April 1986, The Christian Science Monitor reported that "a new batch of documents from FRETILIN", which had been "smuggled out" of the Territory, "shows FRETILIN's forces as being organized into regular companies operating in 10 military zones in the central and eastern districts, with no activity around Dili" or in the western districts. According to The Christian Science Monitor, "the latest Indonesian documents, including a map, smeared in places with duplicating ink, may prove more difficult to authenticate" than documents claimed to have been smuggled out in 1983. However, it was noted that the recent documents were "internally consistent" with the earlier documents. 9/

19. On 28 June 1986, Dagens Nyheter (Stockholm) reported on the three-day visit of Swedish Foreign Ministry official Dag Klackenberg to East Timor. Mr. Klackenberg is reported to have spoken with representatives of the Catholic Church and international humanitarian organizations in the Territory, and to have concluded that "military activity is low on East Timor". 10/ He is further reported as saying that "FRETILIN has been so weakened that it no longer constitutes any threat, even to the development projects that the Indonesian authorities have begun", and that "local reports" are that it "consists of a maximum of 300 to 800 men with weak popular support". 10/ Dagens Nyheter reported Mr. Klackenberg as therefore concluding that "as a political alternative, there is no need for FRETILIN any longer". 10/

20. On 3 July 1986, Le Monde reported that FRETILIN claimed to have killed, in April 1986, 24 Indonesian troops in the eastern and central regions of the Territory. FRETILIN also claimed to be holding three Indonesian soldiers captive, according to Le Monde. 11/

III. HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

21. According to the Australian delegation from the Northern Territory, "there was no evidence of human rights violations" in East Timor. 6/ In addition, Mr. Dag Klackenberg of the Swedish Foreign Ministry was reported as having said, following his visit to East Timor, that he "did not notice any political or religious persecution of the population" of the Territory. 11/ None the less, allegations continue to be made regarding extrajudicial executions, especially of non-combatants, as well as disappearances, torture, arbitrary arrest, and detention on political grounds without legal safeguards. 12/ Indonesian authorities continue to reject allegations concerning abuses of human rights in East Timor on the ground that they are unfounded. 13/

22. Regarding the allegations of extrajudicial killings, Amnesty International has "urged that reports of such killings be fully investigated, and monitored by outside observers". 14/ The United States Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1985, Report on Indonesia, categorized the Territory as an area of "ongoing internal strife between the authorities and the rebels". 15/ It indicated, however, that there were no substantiated reports of political killings in East Timor. 15/

23. The Country Reports pointed out that the continued reports of disappearances often referred to cases before 1985 15/ and that regularized access by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to prisons had helped to locate persons thought to have disappeared. 16/ The Far Eastern Economic Review reported that "several people within the province approached foreign journalists with more recent accounts of sudden arrests, beatings by police and 'disappearances' but these have proved as unverifiable as the Amnesty allegations". 17/

24. Regarding the allegations of arbitrary arrest, the Country Reports noted that the 1981 Criminal Procedure Code of Indonesia contained protections against such arrest, but that Indonesian law did not specifically include the right of habeas corpus or its equivalent. In addition, under special emergency provisions instituted in 1966, a part of the military had "wide powers to detain and interrogate persons thought to endanger national security". However, no case of that use of extra-legal powers had been reported during 1985. 16/

25. The trials of East Timorese detainees continued in 1985. According to the Australian press, detainees are "arraigned on FRETILIN-related charges". However, although they are labelled "rebels, they are not tried with subversion or sedition, but with civil crimes such as murder or arson". 5/ The trials are held in open court in Dili, with defence lawyers from Kupang (West Timor). 17/ "The lawyers typically spend a week or two on a case", reported the Far Eastern Economic Review. Moreover, detainees are reported in some cases to appear as witnesses one day and as defendants the next day in another trial. However, "care has been taken to keep each trial procedurally separate", according to that publication. 17/ As indicated in the previous working paper (A/AC.109/836, para. 29), foreign observers have not been allowed to attend the trials. Amnesty International reported that it had requested of the Indonesian Minister for Justice permission to send observers to the trials "to assess their conduct in terms of international legal standards", but that that request had been denied on the ground that the trials were "essentially a matter of domestic jurisdiction". 14/ So far, all of the detainees have pleaded guilty. Defence attorneys explained that "guilty pleas mean a saving of time", the Far Eastern Economic Review reported. According to the Australian press, "those deemed to be leaders were jailed for more than 10 years, while followers or supporters got 1 or 2 years". 5/ However, the Far Eastern Economic Review stipulated that "after credit is given for time already served in detention - sometimes as much as four years - many prisoners have been left with only months to serve". 17/ During his visit to East Timor in October 1985, Ambassador Morrison of Australia was given an updated list of detainees who had been tried, which he later handed over to Amnesty International. 18/ That list contained 178 names. However, Indonesian Government sources indicate that, as of June 1986, 233 such cases have been prosecuted. After adjudication, sentences are

served at the Comarca and Bekora correctional facilities at Dili, at Cipinang in Jakarta and at Tangerang in West Java.

26. As reported last year, ICRC began implementing a new protection programme in 1985, under which it conducts visits to East Timorese detainees. Accordingly, ICRC has continued its series of visits to detention centres holding these detainees. During the past year three series of visits, in November 1985, February/March and June 1986, were carried out according to ICRC criteria, encompassing four places of detention, two in Jakarta and two in Dili. ICRC, in co-operation with the Indonesian Red Cross, also continued an assistance programme for the benefit of needy families of detainees.

27. Some United States congressmen have expressed concern at allegations of human rights violations in East Timor. On 23 April 1986, 23 senators wrote to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. George P. Shultz, urging him to raise this matter with his Indonesian counterpart and, on 24 April, 125 representatives also wrote to President Ronald Reagan in this regard. 19/ The letter to President Reagan stressed the need to improve the access of humanitarian agencies to the Territory and stated that "there have been accounts of 'hidden' prisons and detention camps to which international humanitarian organizations still do not have access".

28. The Country Reports indicated that the Government of Indonesia had continued to offer amnesty to the members of FRETILIN who gave up their insurgent activities. In 1985, some members of FRETILIN took advantage of that offer and their amnesty has reportedly been generally respected. 15/ However, it was noted that restrictions on their movements were maintained. 15/

29. Restrictions on international access to and the free flow of information from East Timor remain a topic of concern. According to The Christian Science Monitor, "an information curtain has hung over the Territory". 9/ Letter mail to and from East Timor was "subject to official scrutiny", according to the Country Reports, 20/ and telephone communication required authorization. 17/ The Country Reports indicated that the Indonesian Government permitted increased access to the Territory during the past year, including a number of escorted diplomatic visits. 21/ Generally, however, travel to the Territory required a "permit" and there were restrictions on movement within East Timor as well. 22/ On 8 August 1985, the Far Eastern Economic Review reported that "police permits are still required to travel to or from East Timor and applicants are closely screened". Regarding travel within East Timor, the Far Eastern Economic Review also reported that a driver along the north coast of the Territory had been "stopped at 13 police road-blocks in less than 200 km". However, Indonesian sources have since reported that travel documents (surat jalan) are no longer required for travel throughout East Timor, except in those areas where potential security disturbances still occur, e.g. in the areas of Viqueque and Los Palos.

30. As reported last year, Roman Catholicism is the predominant religion in the Territory. According to various sources, the freedom to profess and practise the Catholic faith is generally observed. However, the existence of restrictions on the activities of foreign missionaries has been reported, including difficulties in

renewing or obtaining visas or residence permits. 22/ This fact is said to account in part for the reported shortage of priests in the Territory, 7/, 10/, 17/ but Indonesian authorities indicate that a number of East Timorese are currently in training at seminaries both within and outside the Territory.

31. In 1985, ICRC continued to provide medical and food aid to the displaced persons on Ataúro Island and to assess the situation of previously displaced persons following their resettlement on the main island. The Country Reports indicated that 239 of the displaced persons had been returned to their villages on the main island in October 1985, leaving 932 displaced persons, mostly from Viqueque, on Ataúro. Indonesian Government sources reported that a further 18 families had been returned in March 1986, thus leaving 848 displaced persons on Ataúro. The Country Reports also indicated that, "while the [Indonesian] Government intends to return them as soon as possible, many have asked to stay on Ataúro until there is no longer any possible FRETILIN threat in the Viqueque area". 16/ Communications between the remaining displaced persons on Ataúro Island and their families continued to be facilitated by ICRC, via the Red Cross messages service. In addition, ICRC visited the Cailaco and Manatuto regions of East Timor in October 1985, as well as the Baucau and Aileu districts in May 1986, to assess the conditions of resettlement of over 1,200 persons previously returned from Ataúro Island.

32. At the request of the Portuguese and Indonesian Governments, in 1986 the ICRC began implementing a programme for the repatriation of former Portuguese civil servants. The programme is funded by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). As of the end of July 1986, 24 former Portuguese civil servants and their families, representing a total of 170 persons, had arrived in Lisbon in six groups, on 22 January, 22 February, 12 April, 2 and 24 May and 8 July 1986. According to The Jakarta Post, the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory of Australia, upon his visit to East Timor, informed local authorities that a number of East Timorese currently residing in Australia wished to return to the Territory. Mr. Mario Carrascalao, the East Timorese "governor" of the Territory appointed by Indonesia, was reported to have informed the Chief Minister that they would be welcome, but that their return should be "arranged under official procedures". 23/

33. As reported last year, in 1985 ICRC concluded an agreement with Indonesia permitting it to carry out medical and nutritional surveys on the main island, including follow-up visits to "vulnerable" areas. In December 1985, a visit to five vulnerable areas, following up on the June 1985 survey, took place. A new survey is scheduled for August 1986.

34. The Straits Times (Singapore) reported on 31 March 1986 that the Indonesian Government would begin a campaign to counter allegations of human rights violations in East Timor. According to Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, criticisms of Indonesia's human rights record "stemmed partly from Jakarta's reluctance in the past to provide information". "We have been too closed, too quiet", Mochtar was reported to have said; "We have to be more outspoken". 24/

IV. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

35. As reported last year, the Government of Indonesia continues to place priority on the development of infrastructures in East Timor, particularly in health, education, agriculture, transportation and administration. The Far Eastern Economic Review reported that "to win the loyalty of the East Timorese population, Indonesia seems committed to make the province a showcase of economic development". 17/ "Significant improvements" in social services, particularly education and health centres, communications and economic conditions, have been reported. 21/ The delegation from the Northern Territory of Australia, after visiting East Timor, reported that "major government spending was obvious", particularly in Dili and Baucau. 6/ The per capita budget (approximately $US 89.50 per person) is reported to be higher than any in Indonesia, excluding metropolitan Jakarta. 17/ However, although the average per capita income is reported to have increased from $50 to $110 per year, it is still said to be low by Indonesian standards. 10/

36. Health is reported to be a major priority, 6/ and "every possible effort" is being made to "improve public health". 23/ Emphasis has continued to be placed on increasing the availability of health care to the population, in particular by promoting the number of hospitals, clinics, doctors and other medical personnel present in the Territory. Malaria continues to be a major problem in East Timor. However, inroads seem to have been made in eradicating malaria in Dili, although it still poses a significant problem in the lowlands. 17/ In October 1985, Monsignor Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of the Territory, is reported to have appealed to Australian Catholic Church organizations, via the Indonesian Catholic Church, for emergency medical aid to counter a "plague of measles". 25/ The outbreak was reported as having affected the Iliomar, Los Palos and Luro areas in particular. Thirty children were reported to have died of measles in Luro in September 1985. 25/

37. As reported previously (A/AC.109/836, para. 42), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has continued to carry out, in co-operation with the Indonesian Red Cross, its project in favour of the most vulnerable groups (mothers and children). In terms of health, UNICEF assistance to the Territory includes training of health and nutrition cadres, health centre staff, trainers and birth attendants, as well as primary health care and safe birth delivery services. In addition, the UNICEF programme includes a child immunization component, which is being undertaken in co-operation with the Indonesian Red Cross. UNICEF has also assisted in malaria control activities.

38. No evidence of malnutrition in the Territory was reported during the past year. However, a longer than usual dry season disrupted the production of food, which has affected the nutritional status of children. In terms of nutrition, UNICEF provided assistance to children under the age of five, including rehabilitative feeding. Dietary supplements were also provided. In addition, small-scale food production in village community gardens was supported by UNICEF through the distribution of seeds for corn and rice, and some food stock reserves were established in order to avoid possible food shortages. Five small gravity-piped water systems were also built.

39. In 1985/86, the rural water supply project for East Nusa Tenggara province in Indonesia and East Timor sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Health Organization (WHO) continued to be implemented (see A/AC.109/836, para. 44). The 1985 budget amounted to $US 311,082 and $US 19,500 has been allocated for 1986. The East Timor component of the project entails preliminary water supply, sanitation and manpower plans for Bobonaro, Liquica and Dili, and wells are planned in Liquica and Dili. Socio-cultural and economic studies were completed and strategies for health education and community participation developed by November 1985. The project is scheduled to be completed this year. A new project for East Timor is envisioned, which would encompass groundwater investigation, drilling completion, handpump installation, training and community participation in four areas of East Timor.

40. Statistics continue to be reported regarding the development of the educational sector. Efforts are being made to train East Timorese to be teachers at teacher-training colleges inside and outside the Territory. According to the Far Eastern Economic Review, the literacy rate is 40 per cent. 17/ That publication also reported that "there is still a Portuguese-language secondary school in Dili, but it is due to shut down after graduating its last few classes". 17/ In addition, there are a number of parochial schools run by the Catholic Church, which also supports a number of orphanages, where some educational programmes are implemented, in East Timor. 7/

41. In connection with administration, the Far Eastern Economic Review reports that the majority of civil servants in the Territory are Christians, because of "sensitivity to local predilections". According to Mr. Carrascalao, the goal is to have a completely East Timorese civil service, but as yet this has not been possible for lack of trained candidates. 17/

42. According to the Far Eastern Economic Review, Mr. Carrascalao "encourages the evolution of a consumerist economy in the towns to propel the people out of subsistence farming and barter". 17/ The object of the Indonesian agricultural policy in the Territory is to "transform" East Timor into a "cash-crop-based market economy". 17/ These crops include copra, cassava, cloves, sugar, cocoa, betel-nut, pepper and coffee. 17/ In addition, a number of regions are producing rice and, according to Mr. Carrascalao, "in many parts of the province, farmers were rehabilitating their small coffee plantations to increase earnings". Also in connection with agricultural development, the Catholic Relief Services continued its agricultural project in East Timor during 1985/86 (see A/AC.109/836, para. 40).

43. Regarding transportation, the statistics of the Indonesian Government, as reported in the Far Eastern Economic Review, are that approximately 300 km of roads will be paved by the end of 1986. 17/ None the less, the present shortage of adequate transportation facilities remains a serious problem and has hindered the development effort, especially in the more remote districts. 7/

Notes

1/ The Canberra Times, 8 October 1985.

2/ Reuters, 7 October 1985.

Notes (continued)

3/ Melbourne Overseas Service, 29 November 1985, as in FBIS-APA-85-232, 3 December 1985.

4/ The Guardian (London), 18 October 1985.

5/ The Canberra Times, 17 January 1986.

6/ The Australian, 4 March 1986.

7/ Die Welt (Hamburg), 29 May 1986.

8/ Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 April 1986.

9/ The Christian Science Monitor, 29 April 1986.

10/ Dagens Nyheter (Stockholm), 28 June 1986.

11/ Le Monde (Paris), 3 July 1986.

12/ Amnesty International Report 85, October 1985, pp. 213, 216.

13/ Antara, 30 April 1986, as in FBIS-APA-86-084, 1 May 1986.

14/ Amnesty International Report 85, p. 217.

15/ United States Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1985, Report on Indonesia (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1986), p. 773.

16/ Ibid., p. 774.

17/ Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 August 1985.

18/ Ibid., 16 January 1986.

19/ Reuters, 28 April 1986.

20/ United States Department of State, op. cit, p. 776.

21/ Ibid., p. 772.

22/ Ibid., p. 779.

23/ The Jakarta Post, 1 March 1986.

24/ The Straits Times (Singapore), 31 March 1986.

25/ The Age (Melbourne), 11 October 1985.